

**CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT**

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8 February 1966
ENGLISH

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Tuesday, 8 February 1966, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. W. C. FOSTER (United States of America)

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PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. A. CORREA do LAGO

Mr. C. H. PAULINO PRATES

Bulgaria:

Mr. C. LUKANOV

Mr. Y. GOLEMANOV

Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV

Mr. D. POPOV

Burma:

U MAUNG MAUNG GYI

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS

Mr. S. F. RAE

Mr. C. J. MARSHALL

Mr. P. D. LEE

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. Z. CERNIK

Mr. V. VAJNAR

Mr. R. KLEIN

Ethiopia:

Mr. A. ABERRA

Mr. A. ZELLEKE

Mr. B. ASSFAW

India:

Mr. V. C. TRIVEDI

Mr. K. P. LUKOSE

Mr. K. P. JAIN

Italy:

Mr. F. CAVALLETTI

Mr. G. P. TOZZOLI

Mr. S. AVETTA

Mr. F. SORO

Mexico:

Mr. A. GOMEZ ROBLEDO

Mr. M. TELLO MACIAS

Nigeria:

Mr. G. O. IJEWERE

Mr. L. C. N. OBI

PRESENT AT THE TABLE (cont'd)

Poland:

Mr. M. PLUSZTAJN
Mr. E. STANIEWSKI
Mr. A. SKOWRONSKI
Mrs. H. SKOWRONSKA

Romania:

Mr. V. DUMITRESCO
Mr. N. ECOBESCO
Mr. C. UNGUREANU
Mr. A. COROIANU

Sweden:

Mrs. A. MYRDAL
Mr. W. WACHTMEISTER
Mr. H. BLIX
Mr. P. HAMMARSKJOLD

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

Mr. S. K. TSARAPKIN
Mr. O. A. GRINEVSKY
Mr. A. A. RYABIKOV
Mr. G. K. EFIMOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALLAF
Mr. A. OSMAN
Mr. M. KASSEM
Mr. A. A. SALAM

United Kingdom:

Sir H. BEELEY
Mr. J. G. TAHOURDIN
Miss E. J. M. RICHARDSON
Mr. M. J. F. DUNCAN

United States of America:

Mr. W. C. FOSTER
Mr. C. H. TIMBERLAKE
Mr. D. S. MACDONALD
Mr. G. BUNN

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Mr. P. P. SPINELLI

Deputy Special Representative
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): I declare open the two hundred and thirty-eighth plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

Before calling on the first speaker, I should like, as the Chairman of today's meeting and on behalf of the members of the Committee, to extend congratulations to the Soviet Union on the Luna-9 flight. This outstanding feat adds a new dimension to man's capacity for acquiring knowledge of the universe. It is the first soft landing of an earth-made space craft on another heavenly body. It produced the first pictures of the moon taken from the surface of the moon itself. It is another major achievement in this extraordinarily important era of scientific exploration. Those responsible for Luna-9 deserve the congratulations of us all.

Mr. LUKANOV (Bulgaria) (translation from Russian): The Bulgarian delegation associates itself with the condolences which other delegations have expressed to the delegation of India upon the untimely loss suffered by the people of that country through the death of an outstanding statesman, Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, and of the great Indian scientist Dr. Homi Bhabha. We also offer our condolences to the delegation of Nigeria upon the death of Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

The Bulgarian delegation sincerely greets Mr. Spinelli, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We also welcome the representative of Poland, Mr. Blusztajn, who is once again taking part in our work. We also welcome the new leader of the delegation of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Hussein Khalaf, as well as the representative of Ethiopia, Mr. Amha Aberra, and the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Ijewere, who are participating in our work for the first time.

Mr. Chairman, as you have just pointed out, a few days ago the whole world witnessed an historical event. The Soviet Union achieved a further success in the conquest of outer space for peaceful purposes. For the first time in the history of mankind a space craft has made a soft landing on the surface of the moon. I too should like to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation, our warmest congratulations to the delegation of the Soviet Union on this remarkable achievement by Soviet scientists and technicians. This scientific feat has demonstrated the vast potentialities of human knowledge and present-day technology in regard to exploring, conquering and utilizing outer space in the interest of peace and for the benefit of all mankind.

(Mr. Lukanov, Bulgaria)

The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is resuming its work in a complicated international situation. The United States of America is continuing to wage an unjust war of aggression against the heroic people of Viet-Nam, who are fighting for their freedom and independence. The actions of the United States aimed at expanding the war in South-East Asia and at increasing the United States military budget, the constant growth in the size of the United States armed forces directly engaged in the war against the Viet-Namese people, and the pressure exerted by the United States on its allies for the purpose of involving them in the war -- all this is driving the world along a very dangerous path. It is becoming ever more clear that the so-called "escalation" is fraught with serious consequences for international peace and for the future of mankind.

The attempts of the Government of the United States of America and its propaganda machine to justify its aggression in Viet-Nam by asserting that United States armed forces are there to stop "aggression" from the North and that the United States has no economic, territorial or other interests in Viet-Nam are unlikely to convince anyone, because the real facts bear witness to something quite different: namely, that United States military intervention in the affairs of Viet-Nam is designed to keep the territory of South Viet-Nam in the hands of authorities that are acceptable, not to the people of Viet-Nam, but to Washington. Moreover, the United States intervention has the direct effect of increasing the profits of United States monopolies.

As we know, facts are stubborn things. In this case it is not difficult to answer the question: who is the aggressor in Viet-Nam? It is enough to note that, apart from the Viet-Namese themselves and the Americans who came from afar, there are no others there. Thus we have the answer to the question: who, contrary to the Geneva Agreements of 1954, is interfering in the affairs of Indo-China from outside? In fact the United States of America wants to turn South Viet-Nam into a colony and into a military base, to which it apparently assigns particularly great strategic importance. It is now clearer than ever before that the United States is waging a war against the peasants of Viet-Nam and that in this war against the people it cannot rely even on its highly-paid Saigon puppets.

(Mr. Lukanov, Bulgaria)

The resumption of bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, side by side with United States assertions that this constitutes a search for peace negotiations, shows the insincerity of the allegations of the United States Government that it is seeking peace and is prepared to start unconditional negotiations. That this is so is evident from official United States declarations which, in essence, lay down the following conditions: first, negotiations are to be conducted while United States bombs are falling and while an increasingly intensive foreign occupation of South Viet-Nam is taking place; secondly, negotiations are not to be conducted with representatives of the people of South Viet-Nam, on the pretence that they do not exist, although losses are being inflicted on the aggressors, not by phantoms, but by real national liberation forces; thirdly, the right of the United States to decide what regime South Viet-Nam should have must be recognized.

When the people of Viet-Nam reject these unprecedented conditions for American-style "unconditional" negotiations, there is an even odder attempt to make us believe that the culprit responsible for the resumed bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam itself. In the light of the facts it becomes clear, therefore, that the statements of the United States Government about its striving for peace and its "peace initiative" are nothing but attempts to mislead world public opinion. If the United States Government were really striving for peace in Viet-Nam, it could achieve that aim very easily. It would be enough for the United States to evacuate its troops from South Viet-Nam and let the Viet-Nam people themselves determine freely their own life and future.

The ominous shadow of the war which the United States is waging against the people of Viet-Nam is darkening the whole international situation. The question of this war is not included in the agenda of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, but the policy as a result of which this war is taking place does stand in the way of our success. Intervention, and for all the more reason armed intervention, in the affairs of other people is something that should be ended in the interests of all peoples and of peace on earth. Otherwise the situation will deteriorate and, unless this development of events is not checked in time, the risk of the very worst will become greater, as everyone recognizes. That is why it is essential to intensify efforts to settle existing and impending conflicts by peaceful means.

(Mr. Lukyanov, Bulgaria)

So far we have spoken about circumstances which are unfavourable for the work of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, and we consider it impossible not to refer to them in the general debate. Nevertheless, we know that there are also favourable circumstances, the number of which is not less but even greater than that of the former. In the first place, there is the peace-loving attitude of all peoples, the growing movement of the advocates of peace in all countries, the increasing importance of the role of the non-aligned States which are interested in the maintenance of peace, and the real force represented by States which have proclaimed peaceful co-existence as the basic principle of their foreign policy. Let us deal briefly with some examples testifying to the possibilities inherent in such a policy.

Quite recently an important political event caused a universal stir and aroused hopes throughout the world. This event was the meeting between Mr. Shastri, the Prime Minister of India, and Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan. The meeting at Tashkent and its results showed convincingly that the most difficult problems can be solved by peaceful means, even in the present conditions of world tension, provided that the interested parties show goodwill and readiness to negotiate. The Tashkent meeting once again proved the practical possibility and the usefulness of negotiations as a means of settling the most complex international disputes.

The declaration adopted at Tashkent is of exceptional importance. We congratulate the Governments of India and Pakistan on the results achieved at that meeting. We also congratulate the Soviet Government on its efforts and constructive role which contributed to the success of the Tashkent negotiations. The historic meeting at Tashkent can serve as an example for the work of our Committee. If all the Governments represented in the Eighteen-Nation Committee really show the political wisdom and foresight, tact and patience, goodwill and readiness to seek mutually-acceptable decisions that were shown at the Tashkent meeting, we can safely say that we shall carry out successfully the task which has been assigned to us.

It is with particular satisfaction that I mention as a good example the constant concern for international security shown by the Government of the German Democratic Republic. Side by side with the well-known proposals of the Polish Government, (ENDC/C.1/l; PV.189, p.6) the new proposals of the Government of the German Democratic Republic for ensuring European security (ENDC/168) deserve our full

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support. It is easy to understand that to secure a normal peaceful situation in Europe, where the First World War and then the Second World War broke out in the past and where vast stockpiles of nuclear weapons are now concentrated, will help to maintain peace not only in Europe but throughout the world.

The resolutions on disarmament questions adopted at the twentieth session of the General Assembly (ENDC/161,162) provide the most eloquent and convincing evidence of the desire of the overwhelming majority of States to achieve agreements on a series of measures designed to put an end to the armaments race and to create more favourable conditions for the accomplishment of our main task: namely, the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

Among the many disarmament problems considered at the twentieth session of the General Assembly, the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons occupies a special place. The initiative taken by the Soviet Union in requesting the inclusion of the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in the agenda of that session and in submitting an appropriate draft treaty (ENDC/164) met with the warm approval of all States which are seriously perturbed by the prospect of a further widening of the circle of nuclear Powers. The solution of this important problem, as many delegations pointed out in the First Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations, requires steps to be taken immediately to bring about the conclusion of a treaty which would put an end to the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form whatsoever.

In this regard the Soviet draft treaty proposes a consistent and complete solution for the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, since it closes all paths and loop-holes through which the proliferation of nuclear weapons might occur in one form or another. Consequently it fully corresponds to the requirements of resolution 2028(XX) (ENDC/161), which, as we all know, provides that --

"The treaty should be void of any loop-holes which might permit nuclear or non-nuclear Powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form".

That is why the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria expressed its full support of the Soviet draft treaty at the twentieth session of the General Assembly, being profoundly convinced that only such a solution of the problem of non-proliferation would represent a step towards general and complete disarmament and

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would contribute to strengthening international peace. We reaffirm this position of ours also here, at this session of the Eighteen-Nation Committee. At the same time we are prepared to study and adopt any other proposal which would meet our purpose: namely, to block completely the ways to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

In this connexion I should like to welcome the message of Mr. A.N. Kosygin, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva (ENDC/167). This message of the Soviet Government puts forward valuable and constructive proposals which are a further expression of the consistent peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and of its tireless efforts for the strengthening of peace and friendship among nations.

The Government of the Soviet Union, in seeking to facilitate the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, has expressed its willingness to include in the draft treaty it has submitted a special clause on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States parties to the treaty which have no nuclear weapons in their territory. The Bulgarian delegation attaches great importance to this further constructive step taken by the Soviet Union and believes that it can facilitate the task of the Committee.

We cannot, however, ignore the fact that at the twentieth session of the General Assembly the United States and many of its NATO allies continued to uphold their own concept of non-proliferation, underlying which, as we know, is the desire of those countries to retain the possibility of enabling the militaristic circles of the Federal Republic of Germany to have access to nuclear weapons, circles which openly and vociferously put forward claims for the revision of the existing frontiers established after the Second World War and link these revanchist aims with the possession of nuclear weapons.

The pressure which the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is exerting on its allies for the purpose of obtaining, in one form or another, access to nuclear weapons, and the concessions which the Western countries are making to the Bonn Government in this regard, constitute the main obstacles to the conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. However, the interests of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world, as well as the Potsdam agreements, make it essential to eliminate decisively any possibility that would give access to nuclear weapons to the West German militarists and revanchists. This is a matter of principle and it cannot be the subject of compromise.

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Having analysed the position of the United States and its allies on this highly important and urgent question, one cannot fail to come to the conclusion that the main concern of the Western countries is to avoid curbing the ambitions and plans of their West German allies, rather than to block completely all channels for the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The interests of a narrow military bloc are being placed above the interests of all the nations. Moreover, some people are prepared to read and understand the General Assembly resolution in the wrong way. The inconsistency of the concept on the basis of which the United States draft treaty on non-proliferation (ENDC/152) has been prepared lies in the fact that it does not close all loop-holes for the proliferation of nuclear weapons in respect of Western Germany. This concept is contrary to common sense and is fraught with great dangers for the world.

We should like to hope that at this session of the Committee the Western delegations will adopt a really constructive attitude. It is necessary to set about the practical elaboration of a treaty on the basis of resolution 2028(XX), which is perfectly clear. The Bulgarian delegation supports the proposal to begin a discussion of the treaty article by article (ENDC/PV.235, p.20), and is prepared to start work along these lines.

Nuclear disarmament is the main problem of a programme of general and complete disarmament. In our opinion it is essential to seek an urgent and radical solution of this particular question. In this connexion I have to state that the Bulgarian Government fully approves the proposal of the Soviet Union, contained in the message of Mr. Kosygin, the Head of the Soviet Government, that the nuclear Powers should examine the question of a programme of nuclear disarmament, as follows:

"Such disarmament must provide for the destruction, under appropriate international control, of all stockpiles of nuclear weapons accumulated by States, the prohibition of their manufacture, the complete destruction of all nuclear weapon delivery vehicles and the prohibition of their production, and the elimination of military bases in foreign territories. Only such measures, not the elimination of only a few atomic and hydrogen bombs from the vast stockpiles accumulated by States, can free the peoples from the threat of a nuclear war". (ENDC/167, p.4)

(Mr. Lukyanov, Bulgaria)

Without lapsing into hopeless pessimism or unfounded optimism, the Bulgarian delegation ventures to believe that, if the Western delegations showed willingness to reach mutually-acceptable decisions, it would be possible within a brief period to find the correct solution for the problems of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the banning of nuclear tests underground, and thus to take a great step towards nuclear disarmament in the future.

Among measures that are long overdue, the Bulgarian delegation includes the prohibition of the use of atomic weapons, which was recommended by the General Assembly some years ago (A/RES/1653(XVI)), the establishment of denuclearized zones in various parts of the world, the elimination of foreign military bases and the reduction of the military budgets of States. In Premier Kosygin's message there are some forcefully-expressed, concrete proposals on these questions. Mr. Kosygin states that the Soviet Union is prepared "to assume immediately an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, provided that the other nuclear Powers do likewise". (ENDC/167, p.3)

Everyone knows that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is prepared to respect the denuclearized zones which would be agreed upon by the countries concerned. I should like to stress the special interest of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the question of establishing a denuclearized zone in the Balkans and the Adriatic area, although we do not underestimate the importance of any other denuclearized zone. With regard to the elimination of foreign military bases, we do not see what objections worthy of the name can be raised to the following passage of Premier Kosygin's message:

"The events which are now taking place in the world convincingly show that foreign military bases and armed forces in the territories of other countries represent a serious threat to world peace. These bases, which as a rule comprise nuclear weapons, greatly increase the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war. The establishment of these bases and the stationing of foreign troops in the territories of other countries are indissolubly linked with the preparation and carrying out of military adventures, with the suppression of national liberation movements and with attempts to stifle the freedom and independence of nations". (ibid.)

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The Bulgarian Government has always believed and continues to believe that general and complete disarmament under strict international control is the only radical way of ensuring lasting peace on our planet. That is why, in the opinion of the Bulgarian delegation, we cannot interrupt for a single moment or slacken in any way our efforts to reach agreement on this subject. On the contrary, we must engage with increased vigour in our task of preparing a treaty on disarmament. We are called upon to do so by a number of General Assembly resolutions, and especially by resolution 2031 (XX) adopted at the twentieth session of the General Assembly (ENDC/161).

So far as my Government is concerned, the question of concluding a treaty on general and complete disarmament is not a question of expediency or of tactics. For the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria it is a question of programme. This determines our sincere and consistent policy in regard to disarmament questions, which is a matter of principle. In his speech at a session of our National Assembly on 8 December 1965, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, stated the following:

"Our country, as a member of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and as a participant in other international forums, has always made and will continue to make its contribution towards the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

"Side by side with further efforts towards general and complete disarmament, it is necessary to adopt urgently a number of important measures which would lead to a relaxation of tension in the world and to an improvement in the international situation".

Basing ourselves on this policy, we strongly object to the tendency to diminish the importance of the problem of general and complete disarmament or simply to by-pass it. It appears that some people, in stressing the difficulties inherent in this problem, are inclined to spread scepticism regarding the need for constant and ever greater efforts to reach agreement on general and complete disarmament. It is hardly necessary to prove that such attitudes and tendencies do direct harm to the work of the Committee. Such attitudes are even less justifiable since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2030 (XX) on the convening of a world disarmament conference next year (ENDC/162), and since we have before us the Soviet Union's

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constructive and really carefully-pondered proposals (ENDC/2/Rev.1 and Add.1), and a number of proposals by other delegations aimed at improving the world situation and facilitating the main task of the Committee.

The Bulgarian delegation will, to the best of its ability, co-operate with other delegations to achieve progress in the discussions of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament during its present session.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian):

First of all I should like to express the appreciation and thanks of the Soviet delegation to you, Mr. Chairman, and also to the representative of Bulgaria, Ambassador Lukanov, for the high appreciation and warm congratulations upon the outstanding achievement of Soviet science and technology in the soft landing of the Soviet automatic space station Luna-9 on the surface of the moon. There is no doubt that this success testifies to the vast creative potentialities of human genius.

We know, however, that extremely influential and even power-holding militaristic circles are looking covetously at the moon and devising plans to convert its surface into a nuclear outpost from which to bombard the earth. These ominous plans and aspirations of militaristic circles make the problem of universal and complete disarmament, and especially nuclear disarmament, all the more urgent. Only the solution of this problem will ensure that the great scientific discoveries of our times and the unprecedented progress of technology will be used for the good of all mankind and not for its destruction.

Yesterday, 7 February, the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Georg Stibi, delivered to the representative of the Soviet Union, as co-Chairman of this Committee, a Statement of the Government of the German Democratic Republic to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament on the Conclusion of a Treaty on the Strict Prohibition of the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. As is evident from the title of the document, the matter dealt with in the Statement of the Government of the German Democratic Republic has a direct bearing in the work of this Committee. For this reason the Statement merits most careful attention and thorough study by the Committee. I venture to read out the text of this Statement:

(Mr. Tsarapkin, USSR)

"Statement^{1/} of the Government of the German Democratic Republic to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament on the conclusion of a Treaty on the Strict Prohibition of the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic welcomes with genuine satisfaction that the Twentieth Session of the United Nations General Assembly has directed the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to discuss as an urgent problem the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and to prepare the concluding of an international treaty banning the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic is fully convinced that the conclusion of a world-wide treaty banning the proliferation of nuclear weapons, without any loop-holes and precluding any form of dissemination of nuclear weapons both direct and indirect, would fully conform with the peace efforts of the peoples and their desire for lasting security. However, there are serious obstacles blocking the way towards a speedy implementation of the Resolution of the United Nations General Assembly.

"Unfortunately, the Governments of the United States of America and the West German Federal Republic insist upon establishing a nuclear strike force within NATO which will inevitably lead to a proliferation of nuclear weapons, or upon creating some other organisation which will extend the right of control over nuclear weapons to the present non-nuclear states. It is particularly the demands of the Government of the West German Federal Republic for a share in the control over nuclear weapons, or participation in a NATO nuclear strike force, which cause concern among the peoples and prevent the conclusion of an international non-proliferation treaty.

"For historical reasons the peoples and peace-loving governments distrust the West German claims for a share in the control or for direct control over nuclear weapons. These claims all the more evoke apprehension since the West German Government is the only European government which is once again making territorial claims on other states -- just as German imperialism between the two world wars. The gravity of such apprehensions cannot be extenuated by appealing to an alleged right to military equality within NATO, either.

^{1/} Translation provided by the USSR delegation.

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"Long before Hitler came to power, the army and the diplomats in the Weimar Republic demanded "military equality for Germany on principle," which, unfortunately, was conceded by Great Britain, the USA, France, and Italy in December 1932. Even then the German army and diplomats made assurances that they would only make limited use of their military equality and would be satisfied with a few specimen tanks, aircraft and heavy artillery. Hitler profited from this policy of the Weimar Republic when preparing his immeasurable war crimes. It is an inexcusable crime just as much against the German people as world peace to renew, after three and a half decades, the demands for "military equality on principle" because it is the demand for a share in the control over nuclear weapons, or even a limited possession of nuclear weapons, and serves to prepare a third world war -- a nuclear world war.

"On account of the bitter historical experiences which must be a permanent warning to all peoples of the world, the Government of the German Democratic Republic holds the view that the two German states are under special obligation, in accordance with the Resolution of the Twentieth Session of the United Nations General Assembly (2028/XX) (ENDC/161), "to take all necessary steps for the early conclusion of a treaty preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons."

"Therefore, the Government of the German Democratic Republic has appealed anew to the Government of the West German Federal Republic, demanding:

"Let us as Germans in the two German states renounce any kind of possession and power of control over nuclear weapons!

"Let us as Germans make a joint contribution to help remove the obstacles that still stand in the way of the conclusion of a world-wide non-proliferation treaty!

"Let us join in making a first step towards disarmament and thus towards a rapprochement between the two German states with a view to national reunification by renouncing nuclear weapons!

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic solemnly declares to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament that it is ready to enter into such a commitment, binding under international law, on the renunciation of nuclear weapons, provided that the West German Government expresses the same readiness.

"At the same time, the Government of the German Democratic Republic calls on the Government of the West German Federal Republic to make a similar statement

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to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and thus remove an essential obstacle which is preventing a successful completion of the preparations for a strict world-wide non-proliferation treaty.

"In making this proposal to the Government of the West German Federal Republic, the Government of the German Democratic Republic at the same time calls upon the nuclear powers, in so far as they have nuclear weapons on German soil, to withdraw these nuclear weapons from German territory and in future to keep it free of nuclear weapons.

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic expresses the expectation that, if the two German states renounce nuclear weapons and the foreign nuclear weapons are removed from German territory, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the General Assembly of the United Nations will bring their influence to bear on all nuclear powers so that the German people is given firm and lasting guarantees that German soil, German towns and villages will never become targets of nuclear weapons.

"Such a twofold safeguarding for Central Europe, the focus of two world wars, against the danger of a nuclear war will be an inestimable contribution towards general disarmament and the preservation and safeguarding of world peace.

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic renews its assurance that it will do everything in its power to contribute to a successful solution of the tasks that have been entrusted to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament by the United Nations General Assembly with a view to bringing about general disarmament and guaranteeing world peace."

That is the end of the Statement of the Government of the German Democratic Republic.

The Statement I have just read out shows that there are two German States and two policies: whereas the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany persistently seeks to obtain access to nuclear weapons in one form or another, the Government of the German Democratic Republic calls for the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and solemnly declares its readiness to assume an obligation to renounce nuclear weapons if the same obligation is assumed by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany. This Statement of the Government of the German Democratic Republic is a further important contribution by the German Democratic Republic to the solution of one of the most urgent international questions,

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that of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The proposals contained in this Statement are a fresh manifestation of the genuinely peace-loving policy of the German Democratic Republic, a policy designed to achieve effective security in Europe and peace throughout the world.

The Government of the German Democratic Republic, expressing the genuine national aspirations of the German people, consistently stands for the consolidation of peace in Europe, the reduction of international tension and the solution of the German problem on an equitable democratic basis. Only some three weeks ago, on 22 January 1966, the Government of the German Democratic Republic addressed to the governments of all European States a number of concrete proposals designed to ensure security in Europe. In particular it suggested that agreement should be reached on the limitation of armaments in Europe, the renunciation of nuclear weapons of any type by all European States that do not possess nuclear weapons, the respecting of the existing frontiers in Europe, and the normalization of relations between all European States.

Politicians in Bonn follow quite a different course. The ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany, with the support of the United States, have embarked on the militarization of the country and the intensification of military preparations. It is in Bonn that wild plans are being nurtured with the object of changing the existing situation in Europe and re-carving the map of Europe. It is this policy of revanchism, militarism, military preparations and predatory plans, and insistent demands for access to nuclear weapons that represents the greatest threat to peace in the European continent and throughout the world.

Only a few years ago the Bonn Government assured the world that it was in principle opposed to the rearming of the Federal Republic, to the rearming of the German Wehrmacht or, as it is now called, the Bundeswehr. Today the Bundeswehr, the creation of the West German revanchist militarists, is an army of half a million supplied with the most up-to-date types of military equipment, including missiles. Nuclear weapons -- weapons of mass destruction -- are all that it lacks.

(Mr. Tsarapkin, USSR)

Thus we see how the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany turns from persuasion and requests to increasingly persistent demands to its allies in NATO to be given access to nuclear weapons. I doubt whether any reasonably-minded person would deny that, in seeking access to nuclear weapons, the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany are acting contrary to the national interests of the German people. To think that nuclear armament of the Federal Republic of Germany will bring nearer the reunification of Germany is both a naive and a dangerous illusion. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, by its policy of revanchism and militarism in conjunction with its insistence on access to nuclear weapons, is creating an abyss on the road to reunification, not to mention the fact that this policy pursued by Bonn increases the threat of a nuclear war.

In the light of this dangerous policy pursued by Bonn, the measures suggested by the Government of the German Democratic Republic are all the more important and urgent. The Soviet Union and the Soviet people highly appreciate the efforts of the Government and people of the German Democratic Republic to normalize and improve the situation in Europe and to oppose the aggressive aspirations of the West German revanchists. By its active foreign policy directed against the forces of aggression and militarism, the German Democratic Republic is honourably carrying out the difficult but responsible and noble mission assigned to it by history in the struggle to ensure peace and security in central Europe, and consequently throughout the world.

In its Statement the Government of the German Democratic Republic says that it has addressed the following appeal to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany:

"Let us as Germans in the two German states renounce any kind of possession and power of control over nuclear weapons!

"Let us as Germans make a joint contribution to help remove the obstacles that still stand in the way of the conclusion of a world-wide non-proliferation treaty!

"Let us join in making a first step towards disarmament and thus towards a rapprochement between the two German states with a view to national reunification, by renouncing nuclear weapons!"

(Mr. Tsarapkin, USSR)

It is along that path -- and I address myself now to the representatives of the Western Powers and, above all, to the representative of the United States -- that we should seek for the solution of the problems before us, and not by making frantic efforts to find ways and means to enable the West German Bundeswehr to have access to nuclear weapons and to participate in military nuclear matters.

The proposal of the Government of the German Democratic Republic that both German States should renounce nuclear weapons is a timely and urgent step. At the wish of the United States strategists and generals in NATO, Western Europe has now been filled with thousands of nuclear bombs. Western Europe is sitting on a nuclear volcano, since the larger the number of nuclear warheads in Europe the greater the possibility of fatal accidents. Quite recently four or five United States hydrogen bombs of several megatons each fell in the territory of Spain and one, and possibly more than one, United States hydrogen bomb is still being sought in the Mediterranean a few hundred metres from the Spanish coast.

Each one of us realizes that only sheer luck saved the Spanish population of this area from a terrible catastrophe, from mass destruction. We have been lucky today, we may be lucky tomorrow, but the day after tomorrow there may be a catastrophe. It is clear that the time has come to end this troubled, frantic situation in Europe. A start must be made on nuclear disarmament. An agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons would be a first important step in this direction.

The delegation of the Soviet Union fully approves the new peace initiative of the Government of the German Democratic Republic as reflected in the Statement, which I have read out, of the Government of the German Democratic Republic to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament on the Conclusion of a Treaty on the Strict Prohibition of the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We trust that this proposal of the Government of the German Democratic Republic will receive the attention and support it deserves in the Eighteen-Nation Committee. In this connexion we hope that no extraneous considerations which, it may be said, have nothing to do with nuclear disarmament and the problem of reducing international tension or with world-wide security will prevent constructive discussion of the problem of nuclear disarmament and the solution of the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Tsarapkin, USSR)

The delegation of the Soviet Union requests the Secretariat of the Committee to arrange for this Statement of the Government of the German Democratic Republic to be circulated as an official document of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.^{1/}

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): I wish to exercise my right of reply in my capacity as the representative of the United States.

The representative of the Soviet Union has read into the record a communication from a Mr. Stibi and asked that it be circulated as a Conference document. The United States delegation has stated on several occasions its position regarding communications from the so-called German Democratic Republic. I should like to make it clear once again that so far as my delegation is concerned this communication should be treated in accordance with the procedures governing communications from non-governmental representatives or organizations.

Still speaking as representative of the United States and in exercise of my right of reply, I would say that I have taken note of the distortions to which we have been treated this morning concerning Viet-Nam and the policies of the Federal Republic of Germany. The position of the United States on these matters is well known to all representatives. I shall not comment on the Soviet representative's comparison of policies in the Federal Republic of Germany and in the Eastern zone. The facts speak for themselves. I have previously made reference to these facts, which are quite contrary to what the Soviet representative has told us.

I should also like to exercise my right of reply to the Soviet representative's comments on the B-52 incident in Spain. He has suggested that the collision of two United States Air Force aircraft over the Spanish coast indicates danger and shows the lack of control that the United States maintains over its nuclear weapons. In our view, this unfortunate accident demonstrated just the opposite. On 17 January there was an accidental collision of a bomber and a tanker which was refuelling the bomber over the coast of Spain. Both aircraft crashed and some members of the crews died. Such accidents are extremely rare, but they are included in United States contingency planning with respect to nuclear weapons. No nuclear explosion occurred, because the controls designed to prevent such an explosion by accident performed as they are intended to perform.

1/ Circulated as document ENDC/168

(The Chairman, United States)

Since no other representative wishes to speak, I shall now, in my capacity as Chairman, read the proposed communique:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 233th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador William Foster, representative of the United States. The Chairman, on behalf of the members of the Committee, extended congratulations to the Soviet Union for the achievement of the Luna-9 flight.

"Statements were made by the representatives of Bulgaria, the USSR and the United States.

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Thursday, 10 February 1966, at 10.30 a.m."

Are there any objections?

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): According to the usual practice, documents submitted by anyone at these meetings should be mentioned in the communique. Therefore I would request that the document in question be mentioned in the communique.

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): As representative of the United States, I reiterate that a statement was made by the representative of the USSR which included the reading of a document into the record. Under the procedures of this Committee, such documents are circulated as Conference documents only if they are submitted by a member --- in this case, the Soviet Union. Is this a document of the Soviet Union?

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): We addressed a letter to the Secretariat with a request to issue as a Conference document the "Statement of the German Democratic Republic to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament on the Conclusion of a Treaty on the Strict Prohibition of the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons". In accordance with our letter, we request this document to be issued. Our past practice has been that such documents were issued, and there has not been any other procedure in our Committee. Therefore I request that, in conformity with the practice that has hitherto existed, this document be issued and that it be mentioned in the communique.

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): The procedures of this Committee are well known. A document of the so-called German Democratic Republic has never been circulated as a document of the German Democratic Republic. We do not circulate as Conference documents papers which are submitted to this Conference by non-governmental agencies. If this document is circulated as a document of the Soviet Union, there can be no objection. It has already been read into the record. I repeat that it has never been the custom of this Conference to circulate non-governmental documents as such.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): I ask for it to be done as was done last year.

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): Is the Soviet representative asking that this statement be circulated to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee as a document of the German Democratic Republic?

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): I ask that it be circulated as a document of the German Democratic Republic annexed to a letter of the representative of the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): In other words, as a letter of the Soviet Union, including this communication which you wish to be circulated?

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): That is all right, but it must be issued as a document of the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): Such documents have never been mentioned as such in a communiqué of this Conference. The communiqué says that the representative of the Soviet Union made a statement. I suggest that we follow the usual custom.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): How will it read in the communiqué?

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): The relevant part of the communiqué reads: "Statements were made by the representatives of Bulgaria, the USSR and the United States."

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian):

There is nothing about a document.

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): This is not a document of the Soviet Union, unless Mr. Tsarapkin wishes to make it so.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian):

In view of the position that has been adopted by the Chairman of to-day's meeting in deciding to prevent the publication as a document of the Eighteen-Nation Committee of the letter which we propose should be issued in this form, we deem it necessary to point out that the Chairman, by acting in such a way, is trying to introduce an unusual and intolerable practice into the work of our Committee. We are compelled to protest against this and to insist that the letter which was sent to the Secretariat by the Soviet delegation together with the annexed Statement of the Government of the German Democratic Republic should be issued as a document of the Committee and that it should be mentioned in the communiqué. It is also necessary to point out that the anomalous relations which exist between the United States Government and the Government of the German Democratic Republic cannot be for us an example which the Committee must follow in issuing the documents of delegations.

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): I again respond to the Soviet representative that there has never been a reference to this type of document in the communiqués of this Conference. If the Soviet Union wishes its letter to be circulated as a document, it will be so circulated; it will be distributed to everyone as a Soviet document, numbered ENDC/168. Communications from non-governmental organizations are included in the records of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and submitted to the United Nations. They are not circulated as Conference documents and never have been. This is not a new ruling but is consistent with past practice.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian):

In connexion with what you have just said, Mr. Chairman, I should like to draw your attention to document ENDC/151 dated 10 August 1965. I shall read out this document in English, as it was issued.

Mr. Tsarapkin (USSR)

(spoke in English) "UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

"Letter dated 10 August 1965 from the Chairman of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations

"On 9 August I received a letter, addressed to me as co-Chairman of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, from the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Stibi. That letter, to which is annexed a Statement of the Government of the German Democratic Republic on the resumption of work in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, contains a request to bring the aforementioned Statement to the notice of all the States participating in the Conference.

"I request you to arrange for the aforementioned letter and the annexed Statement of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, which has a direct bearing on the problem of disarmament, to be circulated by the Secretariat as an official document of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

(Signed) S. Tsarapkin

Representative of the USSR
in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament"

(Continued in Russian): To this letter was annexed the letter of Mr. Stibi (ENDC/151). I should like the same thing to be done now.

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): It will be done exactly that way. The document will be circulated as a letter from the Soviet Union with an attachment. In the previous case to which the Soviet representative referred, the document was not mentioned in the communiqué of the meeting in question. The position of the United States is that it does not wish the present document to be mentioned in the communiqué of today's meeting.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): Then from the point of view of procedure, how will the appearance of this document be recorded without any mention in the communiqué?

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): The Soviet representative has addressed a letter to the Secretariat asking that his letter and an attachment be circulated. That will be done. He had made a statement in the Committee and has read this paper into the record. His statement is mentioned in the communiqué.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian):

Can Mr. Epstein say whether this document has already been issued as a document of the Committee?

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): I call on the Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

Mr. EPSTEIN (Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General):

We received this document only this morning, and instructions have been given for it to be circulated as a Conference document. As soon as it has gone through the normal procedure, it will come out as document ENDC/168. This is exactly the procedure followed in connexion with the document which appeared last August and which was referred to by the Soviet representative.

Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian):

Therefore it will not appear as a document of some non-governmental organization, as our Chairman has stated, but as a Conference document. If so, I consider the matter settled.

The CHAIRMAN (United States of America): Are there any other comments on the proposed communiqué? As I hear none, I declare the communiqué approved as read.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.

